

**Comintern 7th World  
Congress Part 10: The Communist  
Party of France Fights for  
the People's Front**

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**The Communist Party of France Fights for  
the People's Front (Speech Delivered at the  
Seventh World Congress of the C.I.)**

By MARCEL CACHIN

Comrades, the French delegation this time presents a favourable balance-sheet to the Congress of the Communist International. Our Party has grown numerically and morally. By the beginning of this month our secretariat had issued 71,000 Party membership cards; our Young Communist League has increased its membership fivefold during the past year. The sport organisations, to which our Party is now giving very much attention, have realised the united front with the socialist sport organisations, and at the present time number 40,000 members. (*Applause.*)

*L'Humanité* has increased its circulation by 50,000 during the last twelve months—(*applause*)—and our provincial press distributes more than 200,000 of its local papers every week. (*Applause.*)

Our election victories last May and June were considerable throughout France. But here we must mention our particularly brilliant successes in the Paris region. First of all, in Paris, where the Communist Party tops all the political parties. (*Applause.*) In the Paris suburbs there live, as you know, the workers forced out of the city by high rents; in the suburbs we won half of all the seats against all the other parties united. (*Applause.*) Thus we have encircled Paris. The day after the recent elections, the reactionary newspapers wrote: "From now on Paris is surrounded by a Red belt." That is true, comrades—this is the blockade of the bourgeoisie's Paris by the proletariat of the Paris region. (*Applause.*)

And let us not forget that the Department of the Seine, where we now hold first place, has 5,000,000 inhabitants, and that it has always played the decisive role in the history of our country. I must add, in truth, that our results in the provinces are still far behind what we achieved in Paris and in the region around Paris.



but nevertheless, we feel a peculiar commotion there. I do not need further proof than the last election in Toulon for the seat left vacant by the death of Renaudel. It was a Communist who succeeded the head of French reformism. (Applause.)

Thus the political role of our Party has grown considerably during the past few months, and it has played a prominent part in the political life of the country. Our Party was the initiator of a very wide united front, which to-day has been extended into the People's Front. And the French Lefts particularly feel that the progress of fascism in France can be stopped only upon one condition: that the Communist Party and the revolutionary proletariat enter the battle to the full. The role of the Communist Party has become decisive. That is why to-day we hear former Premiers saluting the Communist Party of France with respect.

We can say, comrades, that there is no other Party in France at the present time that enjoys the confidence of the proletariat as much as the Communist Party, even beyond the limits of the Party.

Within the Party we observe a cohesion, a maturity, an activity, and at the same time a self-possession, of which we could give you many proofs. Here is one of them:

All of you here know Doriot. You know the role played by this man ever since the formation of our Party. You know that he was in some degree a spoiled child of the Communist Party. And when he left the Party under the conditions that you know, he doubtless thought that a large part of the French Communists and of the working class would follow him in his adventure. Well, the Party was not shaken in any of its cells by the departure of this man.

Outside the city itself that he governs\* his appeals have met with no echo at all.

Comrades, I should like to give you an idea of the admirable devotion of the proletarians to the French Communist Party.

We have set up very many Committees for the Defence of *L'Humanité*. We ask our comrades to become distributors of the paper every Sunday, as well as whenever great events take place

\* Doriot still retains his position as Mayor of St. Denis (a proletarian suburb of Paris) which he won while a Communist.  
—ED.

in France. At the present time there are 15,000 men and women in Paris and the Paris region who defy the fascists and the police every Sunday, in all kinds of weather, without any pay—in front of the Metro entrances, in the markets, and in the streets. But besides these numerous and daily deeds of individual and collective devotion, our Party has furnished many proofs that it has become the leader of the masses.

Tremendous demonstrations took place in the streets of Paris after February 6th last year, after the first fascist venture: a veritable state of siege, with barricades. The night of February 9th, ten of our comrades fell in battle, but the Communist Party found behind it tens of thousands of Parisians, sons of the Commune. It was this day, followed by the 12th, that stopped the first assault of fascism in France. Thenceforth, our Party placed itself at the head of the proletarian masses. It owes this mighty prestige to the loyalty that it has always observed towards its International.

I must mention here the eminent services that our French proletariat has received from its affiliation to the Communist International. The Communist International remains our guide, our star; we have absolute confidence in it. This is not a mystical confidence; it is a confidence founded on an experience of fifteen years by now, the years that have passed since our entrance into the Communist International.

I do not want to outline here the history of everything that has happened during the seven years since 1928. Our Comrade Thorez and other members of our delegation will give all the details of our Party's life.

At the time of the Sixth Congress, the whole capitalist universe believed itself invulnerable and invincible. Everybody had that conviction. The bourgeoisie spoke of nothing but prosperity. Tardieu and Hoover proclaimed themselves its champions. The Social-Democratic Parties also declared that capitalism was steadfast and that it was necessary to come to terms with it. They told the proletarians: "Don't look towards Moscow, look towards Detroit; don't salute the great figure of Stalin, look at Mr. Ford's results." And even in this very hall there were comrades (they were soon to become ex-comrades) who told us that it would be quite wrong to consider America a country on the eve of economic and financial catastrophe. But at that time there was one voice that declared there were cracks behind that façade. It was the voice of the Communist International. In the whole world, comrades,



it alone saw clearly. A year before the catastrophe it predicted it in the clearest fashion.

Prior to the Sixth World Congress there was held the Fifteenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, to which our friend Pieck alluded yesterday. I should like to remind you of the speeches of Stalin and Manuilsky, and I ask leave to quote a concise and pregnant formulation of Stalin's, in which he says:

"Partial stabilisation gives rise to an accentuation of the crisis of capitalism and the growing crisis disrupts stabilisation—such are the dialectics of the development of capitalism at the present historical moment."\*

This was the only correct view; a few months later, the major pillar of capitalist world economy tottered in proud America. The event burst like a thunderbolt, and the day we received the report of the crash, some of us were reminded of the predictions of the Communist International, which alone had clearly seen ahead.

Comrades, five meetings of Enlarged Executives of the C.I. have been held since the Sixth Congress. At each of these Plenums, the C.I. analysed the various phases of the crisis, and the manner in which it was developing in different countries. It deduced all the conclusions; it showed how the various forms of fascism were born out of the development of the crisis. It characterised all the progress and each of the developments of fascism with scientific precision. This analysis is the essential condition for formulating correct tactics. It is only when the crisis is examined from the Marxist standpoint, and all the details analysed in the light of dialectical materialism, that all the lessons and teachings can be drawn from experience to guide tactics in the struggle against the collapsing system.

Only here, in the Communist International, is the analysis of social facts made with a masterliness not to be found elsewhere. This was always the method of the Bolsheviks—serious analysis of the economic facts that condition all the rest and that fix the exact rules of tactics. Then, firmness and discipline in action are the correlatives of their precise analysis.

These, comrades, are the secrets of the success of the Communist International's leaders; and it is because our Communist

\* J. Stalin, Report to the XV Congress of C.P.S.U.

Party is convinced of it that it is so attached to the Communist International. The latter enabled it to follow the correct road in the proletarian struggle, and we are not prepared, comrades, to abandon this straight road. (Applause.)

The essential rule, I was going to say the golden rule, of the Communist International, the rule whose application it always demanded of us, reads very simply: Communists, go to the masses! Go to the masses to win them, to line them up on your side in the daily battle, and for the battles to come. Unfortunately, it must be said that only too often have our Parties misunderstood the primary necessity of getting to work in a concrete, practical and positive fashion to realise this slogan of the Communist International. Our French Communist Party, like the others, committed numerous mistakes for years and years. Sometimes it suffered from a mechanical Leftism, when catechists full of abstractions draped themselves in fetishist formulas and felt it was unworthy of them, first to enlighten themselves, and then to "stoop" to the proletarians to speak to them in the simple and clear language of their class interests. (Applause.)

In our Party, I think I can say that the period of this sorry sectarian policy is happily past.

And on the other hand, it often happened that certain sections of the Party, as well as certain leaders, let themselves follow the easy and soft policy of the Right, i.e., they underestimated the depth of the crisis; they denied that the danger of war was pressing; they tended to believe in the firmness of the capitalist regime; they despised Party discipline; they slid towards reformism.

Comrades, like many others, our Party suffered for quite a long time from these two diseases, which unfortunately are not mutually exclusive. We were ravaged by internal conflicts, by the invasion of factional policy, and the formation of groups. But we can say that ever since the liquidation of the Barbé-Celor group the health of the Party has been restored. Ever since we engaged in the struggle on two fronts, the rise of the Party has been continuous. It has ceased to be a sect; it has been able to find the road to the masses. It tenaciously defends the immediate demands of the toilers. It has descended from abstraction into life. In short, it has been able to apply the masterly tactics of the Communist International, the tactics of the united front, which have been complemented by those of the People's Front.

I believe that these results, this progress, are to-day decisive. And if I were to allow myself the sin of pride, I might perhaps



say to our comrades in the Sections of the C.I. that they might have something to learn from our tactics in the past few months.

Maurice Thorez will give here the full details of these tactics in the discussion of Comrade Dimitrov's report. Let me merely give you two dates: that of the *debut*, when we entered thoroughly into the idea of the united front and the People's Front—after the Amsterdam Congress in August 1932. And I am glad to greet here the organisation formed by two men who have always given the Soviet Union tokens of their deepest sympathy, Romain Rolland and Henri Barbusse, the latter present in this hall. (*Applause.*)

Comrades, until then we were feeling our way, but from that time on we threw ourselves into the struggle completely.

It was our *debut*, our entrance into action. And here is the date of our arrival: the 14th of July, 1935, which witnessed the massive realisation of the twofold tactics of the united front and the People's Front.

I was out of Paris that day, and like many of you, I read the results in the newspapers of the Soviet Union. And I remember the evening of July 14, the unanimous joy of all the comrades I met, and next day the exuberant joy over this great success of our Communist Party, inspirer and initiator of the great and magnificent movement that had just taken place in the streets of Paris.

Three years elapsed between these two dates, in the course of which serious difficulties made their appearance, arising on the one hand within the Party, which was not yet accustomed to this contact with great masses, and sometimes afraid of it. And then, another obstacle came from the attitude of the Socialist Party leaders. This was natural enough in our country—it was not always easy to realise the united front. I remember the first united front demonstrations, when I went together with the Socialist leaders to hold great people's demonstrations; there were comrades of ours who said: "Yes, the Party was well received to-day, but we are restoring a spotless shield to men whose policy is bad." Comrades, I do not dwell on the fact that there was a backward sectarianism in such an attitude. We had to keep in mind the slogan given us by the Communist International: that one must be able to distinguish between the rank and file and the leaders. Moreover, our comrades did not at once get closer to the workers and peasants; they did not always speak to them in the simple and clear language that was necessary. They did not enter into their daily struggles in order to adapt their own slogans to

the latter, to explain them patiently to men who often do not understand our cryptic language, and for whom we must be able to explain in simple terms the complicated things in the great concept of Communism.

I do not say that this obstacle has been completely overcome, but none the less experience shows that progress is being made.

And then, a second obstacle: the bad faith of a certain number of Socialist Party leaders, as Pieck called to mind in very strong terms in the case of Germany. It is a matter of record that in Germany our Communist comrades solemnly proposed joint action and the united front to the leaders of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany during 1932 and at the beginning of 1933. The dates of these proposals have been called to mind: that of July 20, the time of Severing's capitulation, and then January 30, 1933, when Hitler took power. It should be recalled that on this latter day our comrades proposed the declaration of a general strike and the filling of the streets with demonstrating workers, but the Social-Democratic leaders rejected this violently and disdainfully. That is what history will retain of the tragic liability of German Social-Democracy. The same attitude for a long time characterised the Socialist leaders in our country as well. Our Central Committee had made five official offers of the united front to the Socialist Party since 1931, but it was only three years later, July 15, 1934, that the higher authorities of the French Socialist Party accepted these proposals for a united front. And it must be said that they did so under the vigorous pressure of the Socialist rank and file workers, especially in the region of Paris.

Now, the united front has been correctly functioning in France for one year; but we still see deplorable reservations on the part of numerous Socialist leaders. They persist, in spite of the successes of these tactics, and in spite of the absolute loyalty that our Party has manifested in all the joint demonstrations. Though they have nothing to reproach us with, though we, on the contrary, have many things to say, it is not we who make the reservations, but certain Socialist leaders. We found these reservations aggravated in certain speeches at the recent Mulhouse Congress, and later in the columns of the newspaper *Populaire*.

At Mulhouse, however, one-third of the Socialist Party declared that it does not approve this kind of sulkiness—that was the name that Bracke gave the attitude of certain leaders of the Socialist Party towards the united front. A third of the Socialist



Party clearly stated that everything is urging it towards union with the Communist Party. Certain formulations were made that are worth retaining: "We are closer to the Communist Party than to certain among you." And there was a very clear-cut attitude, on the part of Zyromski and Bracke among others. I may perhaps be allowed to assume that Blum does not completely approve the reservations made by certain of his friends; he is too intelligent not to understand the inevitability of the united front, with all its consequences.

I am sure, comrades, that this attitude of the Socialist leaders who are making reservations regarding the united front does not suit the Socialist workers. I think that even within their own party, these leaders will be reminded that it would be quite bad to forget the events in Germany and Austria, and that now is not the time to loosen the united front, much less to break it; that now is the time to strengthen it.

Going to the masses, applying the directives of the Communist International—that meant first of all, for us French Communists, the realisation of the united front of the working class. That also meant hastening trade union unity. (*Applause.*)

I hope that our Seventh Congress will not close without learning that trade union unity has been ratified in France. The current towards trade union unity has become so strong for the past few months that there are more than seven hundred united unions at the present time, and it is certain that the last barriers of resistance are going to be cleared away very shortly. And let me say, it is the persevering efforts of the militants in the C.G.T.U. that will have culminated in this victory over the spirit of division in the unions.

Comrades, the rally of July 14 demonstrated the breadth already achieved by the People's Front, which was initiated by our Communist Party. This extension of the united front is always the application of the same slogan: "Communists, go to the masses." And the general situation, national and international, imperatively demands of us this realist policy of rallying a wide People's Front.

All the victims of capital must be united: all those whom it is already crushing under the millstone of fascism, and those whom it intends to place under the shameful yoke. I appeal to our brothers in the countries already fascised, who have already suffered so much, and who are still suffering from the terror and

the crimes of fascism. I think they will be the first to understand the necessity of this attitude of the French working class at the very time when fascism threatens us in France so directly.

We do not want the French proletariat to undergo fascism. Now, comrades, we cannot deny that at the present time fascism has become very powerful in our country. It has felt its way for the past five years, but it has at last found its form. Its specific form is a military form. It is led by retired high officers, together with high officers on the active list. This was avowed by M. Laval. The man whose whole policy favours French fascism stated, trying to injure us, that politics must not enter the barracks any more than it must enter the general staffs—which means that it already reigns mistress there.

There is one man, a former nobleman, who has an undeniable gift of organisation—for one must know one's worst enemies well—who has gathered his formations into a mighty force at the present time. He says that he has 300,000 armed men, motorised, with airplanes, arms and munitions. He says that the Fiery Cross is gaining 15,000 members a month at the present time. And from time to time he mobilises his troops in giant demonstrations in the environs of Paris and deep into the provinces. At the present time his men feel or believe they are very close to victory. They announce it, and state that in a few weeks they are going into action. There will be "sport," they say, a scrap.

Comrades, the French working class replied to such insolence with magnificent action on July 14, and since that time M. Count de la Rocque has perhaps begun to think it over a bit. But we well know that we cannot get the best of 300,000 armed men by street demonstrations, no matter how powerful, how moving they may be.

Next winter, or even before, the most severe events of an economic and financial nature will occur in our country. The economic crisis, which struck in France later than elsewhere, has arrived there at the present time in a very forcible manner. And when the Chamber meets again at the end of the autumn, accounts will be presented to M. Laval; there will certainly be major political movements. And then there will arise for us Communists problems demanding grave decisions.

It is certain that next winter will not pass without severe clashes and collisions, and it is up to us to prepare for them.



Comrades, although the French Hitlerites have calmed down a bit to-day, we know that they still are strong, that they have government approval, and that they are preparing to take their revenge. With more energy than ever before, we must ensure that fascism "shall not pass." We have done so up to the present time, and we can do so to-morrow. But we say, and each of us will understand it from his own experience, that we are not strong enough to repulse fascism by ourselves. We must have allies in the battle. It is precisely the People's Front that furnishes us these allies. And to-day we think the interests of the French proletariat and of the international proletariat require that absolutely. For in Continental Europe to-day there is only one major country that is still not ruled by fascism. And if by misfortune fascism should crush us in France, it would not be us alone who would be crushed; it is the Soviet Union itself that would be aimed at directly, for our French fascism now states that it wants to wipe out the French Communists, and it wants to do the same to the Soviet Union.

We have heard it said that these tactics of the People's Front, which we have already implanted and which we intend to intensify by all the means at our disposal, present a certain danger.

Comrades, it is evident that the application of all tactics, no matter how correct, presents dangers, especially in a situation bristling with difficulties; but is there a more pressing duty for the French proletarians at the present time, in July 1935, than driving back fascism, than preventing its victory by all means? But nevertheless, when one is in a well-steered ship, one can escape the rocks. It is up to the Party of the proletariat to hold the helm of the ship of the People's Front firmly in its hands.

Some Socialist Party leaders, as well as the Trotskyites whom they have taken into their ranks, permit themselves to accuse our Communist Party of engaging itself too deeply in the People's Front policy. They feel that they are qualified to accuse us of turning our backs on our class goals, of rehabilitating a faction of democrats, of Radicals, who have accepted the People's Front.

We have, as you know, something to say by way of reply to these reproaches, which come to us chiefly from the Right wing of Socialism. Are we obliged to say here that nothing, nothing is able to make Communists renounce their objectives, that nothing is capable of turning us from our goal; but that in order

to repulse fascism, and to prevent war, we are ready to ally ourselves with the devil, as Lenin used to say.

And what would the French workers say if, unfortunately, we should hesitate to adopt tactics imposed by events, and if, by so doing, we should put Hitler fascism in power in Paris? And what would the toilers of the Soviet Union say, if we should procure the support of French fascism for Hitler through a policy of sectarianism? Do not doubt it for a minute, comrades: the French fascists will be on Hitler's side, the day after their victory (if that ever takes place) preparing for war against the Soviet Union. We shall not do that, and our participation in the People's Front has no other reason than to prevent such a catastrophe. Hence we shall pursue the strengthening of the People's Front to repel fascism, and to prevent war as far as we are able.

Together with the whole Communist International, we well know, that we have reached the second cycle of revolutions and wars, but it is for that very reason, because we have the clear-cut sensation of danger, that we must do the impossible to tear away from capitalism the masses whom it wants to precipitate into fascism as well as into war. We are endeavouring to line up on the side of the proletariat the most numerous people's forces; we want to tear them away from the influence of finance capital, which is, with fascism, preparing for war.

And if this method is rejected, I should like to have a better one shown us. This better method can never be that of the Second International, since after the terrible experiences of 1933 in Berlin, and of 1934 in Vienna, I think that no one would dare any longer to propose them to the proletariat anywhere. Grouping in a single front all those who, for various reasons, are opposed to war at the present time is our objective; it was always the policy of the Soviets, nor is any other conceivable to us. The toilers have understood and will understand this language; and it is in this sense that the French workers and peasants, Communists, Socialists, democrats, have approved Stalin's clear remarks to Laval. The more the French workers reflect, the more they realise that this is the only possible road, and that once again our great Comrade Stalin has fulfilled his true function as leader. (Applause.)

Comrades, the day that the report of Stalin's declaration was received in France, considerable excitement was caused, as you can imagine. The Socialist leaders, invoking the purity of their



doctrine and their anti-war, pacifist intransigence, were heard complaining about words which, they said, seemed to disown their position and that of the French Communist Party. And at that time this was obviously accompanied by secret hopes that the Communist Party, dealt a heavy blow as they said, was going to find itself considerably embarrassed.

But once again their hopes were deceived. And when a few days later, we pasted on the walls a tremendous poster "*Stalin is Right*," hundreds of thousands of workers of the Seine—Socialists, democrats, Communists—passed by the poster and cried "Bravo!"

Comrades, we were facing elections at that time in the Paris suburbs, elections where we put up candidates everywhere; and the Right press, and sometimes the Socialist press, too, tried to hamper the activity of the Party by insinuating that Stalin's declaration had given Laval a trump card in his fight against our movement. But the working class of the Paris suburbs, which is subtle and clear-sighted, understood very well what that meant. Never had we had such success in our public meetings; and I remember that there were crowds of government employees and petty-bourgeois who said: "We'll go along with the Communists, for they're the only ones who are right."

I say, therefore, comrades, that Stalin's statement met with an excellent reception in our country. Not unanimous, of course. There are the Hitlerites, first of all; there are the neo-fascists; and then there are the Trotskyites, their little and dubious group. And then, last of all, there is Doriot.

Doriot has just given interviews to the big newspapers of the bourgeoisie, the exact text of which I want to give you. Doriot attacks the policy of the People's Front, representing it as subordinated to the policies of the Soviet Union; he says that it leads to war, and he demands that it be replaced by a rapprochement with Germany "such as she is," that is to say, with Hitler.

In the interview that Doriot has just given the *Petit Journal* (of July 13), he says literally:

"It is inadmissible for the policy of a big French Party to be dominated by the diplomatic needs of a foreign country, no matter what one it is. [When he says a foreign country, he means the Soviet Union.—M. C.] I dread this Russian alliance, because I believe that Russia is interested, or thinks it is

interested, in war, while we want peace. Peace must be sought for by the most logical means, Franco-German rapprochement. Here is the policy that conforms to the interests of the masses." And he concludes:

"The Russian influences must be eliminated from the People's Front in order that its actions be inspired by French needs."

I need not tell you that the French proletarians will not believe a word of what Doriot tells them. They know that it is a shameful slander to say that the Soviet Union is interested in war. They know very well, and we prove it to them every day, that the U.S.S.R. is, on the contrary, the only power that tries to avoid war by every possible means. The Soviet Union has foiled the plans of imperialism, which wished to isolate it. It is collaborating with all the little countries that are menaced in their independence at the present time, and with those that are not interested in breaking the peace at the present historical moment. It offers its pacts of non-aggression, peace guarantees, and mutual assistance to all nations, no matter which they are. One must have a brazen face to say under these conditions that the Soviet Union wants war and is preparing for it.

No! All honest minds know very well that the U.S.S.R. is a great peaceable nation, the only really peaceable nation in the whole world. (*Applause.*)

And as for the "positive" policy of Doriot: it—together with the French fascists, M. Goy, Scapini, de la Rocque and the others—demands that we break with the Soviet Union and stretch out our hand to Germany, not to an abstract Germany up in the clouds, but to Hitler Germany, to the Germany of fascism. Together with Hitler, whose sole preoccupation, whose sole perspective—which he avows with insolence, with impudence—is first of all an annihilating civil war against all workers' organisations, and then an imperialist war for the conquest of territory for exploitation and colonisation, torn chiefly from the U.S.S.R.

This, comrades, is the abyss into which Doriot has fallen. This is where his vulgar hatred of the Communist Party and of the Communist International, of which he was still a member yesterday, has led him.

Comrades, all of you here are revolutionaries with stout hearts and clear minds. Many of you here on these benches, among the



delegates of the Bolshevik Party of the U.S.S.R., have participated in the greatest revolution of all time, and you have known how to lead it to victory. Others among our Chinese comrades, to whom I bow very low, have been heroically fighting, arms in hand, for seven years to liberate their country and raise their class to power.

They have already succeeded in large part, since the Chinese Soviet Republic already includes tens of millions of toilers. Some of the other Parties represented in this assemblage count by the thousands their brave militants who have fallen in revolutionary struggle.

All of us maintain intact the teachings of Lenin and of Stalin against the conceptions of reformism, regarding the necessity of preparing for the dictatorship of the proletariat, of transforming the imperialist war into a war for the people's liberation. There is not a revolutionary authority in the world higher than this assemblage, which has come together in the capital of the world revolution.

Our Communist International has decided to take the initiative for anything that could be usefully proposed to prolong peace under the shameless predatory régime of imperialism. But we have no right to be blind and deaf to the events going on around us. Of course, we count only upon the peoples to defend peace and defend the Soviet Union and not upon the governments of the bourgeoisie, no matter what they are. But it is our duty to utilise to the maximum, for the benefit of the exploited, the contradictions of the capitalist régime and the internal antagonisms that rend it apart.

We well know that it is in the nature of capitalism to produce war. Let us bring together against its régime all those who hate war, no matter who they are. We well know where the rallying of these wills in a People's Front, inspired and directed by the vanguard of the world proletariat, will finally lead.

Comrades, the Soviet Union was never more threatened than to-day by decadent imperialism. But at the same time we see the Communist proletarians, the Socialists, and many of those who are still attached to the forms of bourgeois democracy, the best intellectuals, the best artists, the greatest scientists in the world, are turning from imperialism and are being drawn towards the fatherland of Socialism.

All those who think realise that an eclipse of the Soviet Union

would mean darkness over the whole world; they all realise that the World Soviet Union is the only way out for human civilisation. And that is why the toilers throughout the world will rise in revolt against all attempts at anti-Soviet aggression. Since the October Revolution they have repeatedly and concretely manifested their resolution not to let the U.S.S.R. be touched. But in the stage of decisive social struggles that we now have reached, everyone understands that he must give himself without reservation to the defence of the Soviet Union, must identify it with his own defence. Numerous democrats and the best of the intellectuals know it as well as we do, and they have made their choice already. The duty of the Communists is now tremendous; it is their job to prepare to direct these coming struggles in the light of the precedent of October. To lead the proletariat to victory they retain their complete confidence in their Communist International. It has already brought well-being to one-sixth of the globe. *(Prolonged applause. The delegates rise and give Comrade Cachin an ovation. The whole hall sings the "Internationale.")*